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COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

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Part VI
ORGANIZATIONS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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PREFACE

This monograph is the sixth in a series of exhaustive studies concerning communist propaganda in the United States from the establishment of the Communist Party, USA, in 1919 to the present.

This monograph describes how labor and front organizations are used by American communists as powerful vehicles of agitation and propaganda.

The information contained in this monograph has been drawn from both public and confidential sources. The public sources are enumerated at the end of the monograph, while the confidential sources have been retained by this Bureau.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

Labor and front organizations have performed an extremely important function in the agitation and propaganda activities of the American communist movement since 1919. Such organizations have furnished an ideal cover for the Communist Party, USA, in carrying out its political, agitation, and propaganda program. Through the medium of labor and front organizations, communists have been able to reach and influence vast numbers of the American people, out of proportion to the Communist Party's actual membership. Organizations of these types have permitted communists to exercise enormous political pressure and to disseminate an incalculable amount of propaganda in advancing the cause of communism in the United States.

B. Conclusions

1. Communists have sought to penetrate and gain control of the American labor movement ever since the beginning of the Communist Party in the United States.

2. The communist aim in infiltrating and controlling American trade-unions is for the sole purpose of furthering the political and propaganda objectives of the Communist Party, USA, to overthrow the United States Government.

3. Once in control of a trade-union, communists exploit and use it as a sounding board to propagandize the Communist Party program and line.

4. The tactic of "boring from within" the labor movement, originally enunciated by V. I. Lenin in 1920 and designed to bring noncommunist unions under communist domination, has been the major policy followed by the Communist Party, USA.

5. Early communist trade-union activity in this country was devoted principally to organizational and propaganda attempts to undermine and capture the AFL.

6. Communists exerted steadfast effort to deepen and widen their infiltration of the CIO from the time it was first established. They gained and exercised complete or partial control over a large number of unions until all communist-dominated unions were expelled by the CIO in 1949-1950.

7. Communist strength and influence within the CIO permitted the Communist Party to engage in wholesale agitation and propaganda activities to the detriment of American workers.

8. Front organizations serve as a highly effective screen to conceal the political, agitation, and propaganda activities of the Communist Party, USA.

9. Communist fronts are founded to appeal to many propaganda target groups and to promote a wide variety of local, national, and international causes.

10. Front organizations are formed, converted, and liquidated to satisfy the requirements of the constantly changing Communist Party propaganda line.

11. Precautions are taken by communists to hide the true origin and nature of their fronts by giving them idealistic or patriotic names, by espousing ostensible legitimate and worth-while programs, and by exploiting prominent persons as sponsors.

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I. COMMUNIST USE OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

A. Importance of Trade-Unions to Communists

Communists have waged a continuous and unremitting campaign to infiltrate and gain control of American labor organizations from the time the Communist Party was organized in the United States in 1919. The Marxist goal in penetrating and capturing trade-unions is to convert them into political and propaganda organizations and then employ them as weapons for producing the revolutionary destruction of the United States Government.

Communists seek the cover of labor organizations and the support of workers solely to carry out their aim of communizing this country. They have never been interested in labor unions for the purpose of improving the economic status of individuals; their only concern is in utilizing unions as a means of seizing control of the Government. Communists recognize that unions, with their millions of organized workers, are vast reservoirs of potential and dynamic power and propaganda which can be harnessed for communist ends. Wherever communists have been successful in achieving control of labor organizations, they have used them as key instruments of agitation and propaganda. (1) (2) (3)

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Communist theory, as propounded by Karl Marx and as taught by communists today, considers labor organizations to be the basic units for waging and propagandizing the class struggle. Both Marx and his collaborator, Friedrich Engels, repeatedly referred to trade-unions in their writings as "schools of solidarity, schools of socialism."(4)

V. I. Lenin visualized the labor union as "a school of Communism," a preparatory school for the training of the proletariat to realize its dictatorship. He held that the trade-union is an "indispensable organization" of the workers for transferring the control of the government into their hands.(5)

The importance communists place on gaining control of labor was evidenced by the Communist International* at its Second World Congress, which was held in Moscow in the Summer of 1920. This Congress adopted 21 conditions of admission to the Comintern on the part of foreign communist parties. Among those conditions relating to labor was the following:

*The Communist International, or the Comintern, as it was called in its abbreviated form, was established in 1919 as a union of communist parties throughout the world. The Communist Party in the United States became affiliated in 1921 but disaffiliated in 1940. The Comintern was formally dissolved in 1943 as an ostensible gesture of "friendship" between the Soviet Union and its World War II allies. The basic principles and objectives of the Comintern, however, are still in effect and are closely adhered to by the Communist Party, USA, at the present time.

"...Every party desirous of belonging to the Communist International should be bound to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the labor unions, co-operatives and other labor organizations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist groups within the organizations, which by persistent and lasting work should win over labor unions to Communism...." (6)

The Comintern, during a meeting of its executive committee early in 1926, adopted a "Resolution on the American Question," which stated, in part:

"...As soon as opportunities present themselves for gaining a leading position in a trade union...such opportunities must always be taken advantage of in a skilful manner. One of the most important tasks of the Communist Party is the struggle for power in the trade unions..." (7)

In accordance with these instructions by the Comintern, the Communist Party in the United States commenced to organize communist fractions* and shop nuclei in industry with the slogan, "Every Shop and Every Factory a Fortress of Communism." Systematic mass agitation and propaganda were begun among workers in such basic industries as transportation, shipping, communications, metals, fuel, and food. (8)

B. Communist Tactics for Infiltrating and Controlling Unions

1. Policy of Industrial Concentration

The main feature of communist infiltration into the American labor movement is the communist program of concentrating on basic

*A communist fraction consists of a close-knit, well-disciplined, well-led group of Party members within a trade-union or other organization.

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industries vital to the Nation's economy. This policy involves the systematic building and strengthening of Communist Party units, as well as infiltrating and controlling trade-unions, in strategic industries. Special attention is, therefore, given by the Party to concentration work in the big industrial states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and California.(9) (10)

Although the principal trade-union targets are the key industries, communists are also active in the fields of service and light industries, such as clothing, leather, stores, offices, hotels, and restaurants.(11) Penetration and control of unions in these areas are not for the paramount purpose of achieving commanding positions in the economy, as is true in the basic industries, but of serving the political and propaganda needs of the Communist Party.(12)

The mass employment which characterizes basic and light industries furnishes communists with untold opportunities for building the Communist Party by means of unions infiltrated and controlled by them. Agitation and propaganda have always played a significant function in implementing the Party's industrial concentration program.(13)

In connection with its industrial concentration policy, the Communist Party resorted, in the past, to colonization. This entailed the assignment of loyal and trusted Party members to find employment in a given industry or

factory for the purpose of advancing Party objectives. Colonization often demanded a complete change in the lives of the individuals concerned. On Party instructions, colonizers left college or gave up higher paying professional-type positions to become manual laborers on an assembly line. Others moved from another area to the point of colonization.

2. Pattern of Infiltration and Control

Communists have never relied upon numerical strength alone to gain domination of a labor organization. There is little question that they rely more for their success on the apathy and inertia of the great majority of union members than they do on the positive force of their own members. The militancy, organizational ability, propaganda skill, discipline, and hard work characteristic of communist trade-union leaders and rank-and-file members alike, coupled with the indifference and lack of interest of most workers in unions, logically explain the disproportionate strength exerted by the small communist minority in the American labor movement.

In aiming for control of a trade-union, communists follow a basic pattern. Where a union already exists, communists immediately join and set out to infiltrate it. In a variety of ways, they try to ingratiate themselves with union leaders and members. If a distasteful job is to be

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done, communists willingly do it. In this manner, they build up reputations as faithful, tireless union members. Naturally, they never disclose their membership in the Communist Party.

Once within the union, communists begin to test their strength and try to uncover potential Party members and fellow travelers. They do this by the process of introducing at union meetings resolutions which express progressively the current communist propaganda line. Careful note is made of those voting with communists; those who consistently follow the line are secretly asked to join the communist fraction.

After gaining a foothold in the union, communists strive to worm their way into such strategic union posts as will give them sufficient power to influence the membership. The key positions communists aspire to include educational director, business agent, editor of the union publication, head of the speakers' bureau, and other staff posts which do not come within the affidavit requirements of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Where there is no trade-union, communists, functioning as a fraction, begin organizing a union with noncommunist support. The communist origin and sponsorship of the organizational drive, of course, are adroitly concealed from the prospective union members. As the establishment

of the new union proceeds, communists see to it that their own members occupy positions of authority and prestige in order that they may retain (15) (16) (17) and exercise complete control.

The opportunism of some noncommunist union leaders has, on occasions, led to ultimate communist control of a union. This was strikingly true of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UERMWA), formerly an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The communist influence in the UERMWA started in 1937 when James Matles was given a key post. Matles had been an official in the American Federation of Labor (AFL), having about 5,000 members under his jurisdiction, but he had manifested pronounced communist leanings which the AFL refused to countenance. The UERMWA was desirous of increasing its membership and invited Matles to join its union, bringing with him his bloc of 5,000 members. Although UERMWA officials were aware of Matles' communist sympathies, they labored under the illusion that they could control him.

Matles was appointed director of organization of the UERMWA. It was intended to have this position remain an appointive office, but at the 1937 national convention, Matles was able to muster sufficient

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strength to make it an elective office, thus removing himself from the control of the UERMWA executive board. From that time on, the communist fraction in the UERMWA began building and consolidating itself, and, in a short time, gained control of the entire union. Thereafter, the UERMWA was used as a sounding board for communist propaganda. The UERMWA was finally expelled from the CIO in 1949 for following the policies and programs of the Communist Party, USA.

3. Techniques at Meetings and Conventions

Communists in a union have a decided advantage over other union members. Most union members are indifferent to union affairs other than those relating to wages and working conditions, and either stay away from meetings or take no active part in those they do attend. Communists, on the other hand, are the busiest and most alert members in the union, skilled in deception, propaganda, and parliamentary procedure. The unorganized non-communist members are, therefore, no match for the communist fraction which can readily outmaneuver and outwit them at every turn.

At union meetings and conventions, communists operate through caucuses and prearranged decisions. They are well organized and briefed, with their policies, strategies, and duties thoroughly charted before they enter the

meeting or convention hall. The communist fraction meets during recesses and at all other available times to decide on tactics to be followed.

A Communist Party official will frequently direct and coordinate the maneuvers of the communist fraction at a union convention from a nearby hotel room. This was illustrated at the national convention of the CIO, which was held in Philadelphia in November, 1943. In a hotel room close by, three top communist union leaders conferred daily with Roy Hudson, a member of the national trade-union commission of the Communist Party, USA. From Hudson, they received instructions on communist policies and tactics to be pursued at the convention. Lee Pressman, CIO general counsel and secretary of the convention's resolutions committee, made it a point to furnish Hudson with draft copies of resolutions which Pressman was later to deliver to the printer. Most of these resolutions had already been submitted to the convention, but Hudson proceeded to change the language of some to emphasize the Party's political and propaganda line.

A thorough knowledge of parliamentary procedure, a great proficiency in the art of propaganda, and a faculty for organization are employed by communists to good advantage. Since communists at most union meetings and conventions seldom number more than a small

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percentage of those present, the problem of exerting maximum parliamentary pressure is solved through the use of the so-called "diamond" seating plan. This plan scatters the communist fraction throughout the floor roughly in the shape of a diamond with one point of the diamond directly below the speaker's platform.

In this seating arrangement, communists are placed in strategic positions throughout the hall so that noncommunists and anticommunists are fairly well surrounded by communists. The function of these communists is to insure concerted action, either of applause or shouting, at a prearranged signal. A relatively few well-placed vociferous communists thus can create the false impression of constituting a definite majority for or against any proposal.

Communists select, in advance of the meeting or convention, the members who are to introduce motions favorable to their cause. Those who are to second the motions are also chosen beforehand. If communists are able to place one of their own as chairman, they are able to effectively silence the opposition. This is accomplished simply by the refusal of the chair to recognize a known noncommunist or anticommunist speaker. With such systematic planning, a motion is easily rushed through an unprepared and disorganized opposition.

Communists are also expert in executing delaying actions to wear out the opposition. When they are not able to outmaneuver their opponents, they try to outlast them. They engage in long-winded and tedious discussions of reports and resolutions so as to prolong the meeting or convention into the early morning hours. Finally, their opponents, through disgust, boredom, or sheer exhaustion, leave for home, with the result that hard-core communists are left with a quorum. Then they quickly introduce procommunist resolutions which are passed in short order with a minimum of debate.

4. Neutralization of Opposition

Communists resort to propaganda to systematically discredit and eliminate anticommunist opposition in unions. All outstanding anti-communists are made the victims of well-organized, cleverly disguised communist smear campaigns. Opponents of communists are denounced as "Red baiters," "misleaders of labor," "fakers," "labor spies," "gangsters," or "thieves." Scandalous rumors are frequently circulated (18) (19) about their private lives.

In one case, a communist organizer of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (IUMMSW)* tried to organize a

*The IUMMSW was expelled from the CIO in 1950 for following the policies and programs of the Communist Party, USA.

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New York brass plant, whose employees were represented by an independent union. This organizer distributed leaflets at the gates of the plant attacking the officers of the independent union. Many of the attacks were libelous. One of the union officials, who was of excellent moral character, was actually accused of immorality.

In another instance, the communist leadership in control of an automobile local assailed their right-wing opponents in an election. Communists issued pamphlets accusing the right-wing leaders of being "scabs" and "selling out" the workers.

Communists are also masters in utilizing propaganda to create and unleash divisive forces within unions. The tactic of pitting one anticommunist labor leader against another is a favorite communist trick to split an anti-communist majority. Another effective communist weapon is promoting inner-union quarrels and bickering. With the noncommunists divided and bitter, the union is ready prey for the communist fraction. (20)

5. Strategy of Strikes

The Communist Party, as an organization of class warfare, specializes in strikes. The Party foments strikes and injects itself, wherever possible, into every strike situation as soon as a strike breaks out. Communist interest in

strikes is not economic, but political and propagandist. They visualize every strike as an opportunity not to improve the welfare of the workers but to foster class strife and to further the cause of communism. Communist-inspired strikes are not a goal in themselves but merely a means to a far more sinister end--the revolutionary seizure of power and the overthrow of the established government.(21) (22)

Communists maintain that strikes are never lost and that defeat can be turned into a victory for the Communist Party if the strike is properly exploited. The communist theory is that, the more violent a strike becomes, the better for the Party. The death of a striker, for instance, is a great boon to the Party, for such an incident affords communists a propaganda field day to magnify the class struggle between labor and management.(23)

Strikes provoked by communists usually begin with a demand for an increase in wages or changes in working conditions. Soon, however, the strike is manipulated and maneuvered by communist organizers, agitators, and propagandists into a mass action involving thousands of noncommunist workers. The Communist Party employs strike techniques which, for dramatic staging and militancy, are unsurpassed. The Party

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has developed its own methods for mobilizing public support of strikes, for staging propaganda stunts in order to secure nationwide publicity, and for raising strike-relief funds.(24) (25)

Wherever possible, in any important strike not led by communists, they try to gain a foothold in the strike by bringing into action their propaganda apparatus and strike-relief machinery. Behind the facade of relief, communists set up headquarters in the strike area, and supply the strikers and their families with food, clothing, and shelter so as to win the strikers' sympathy. They bring in speakers, organizers, agitators, and propagandists in order to boost the morale of the strikers, convey the communist message to strikers and nonstrikers alike, and recruit strikers into the Communist Party.(26)

Communists also join the picket line and distribute communist literature. Typical of the literature circulated during strikes was a leaflet issued by the Communist Party in an eastern state in the 1956 steel strike. The leaflet, which was distributed as a "public service," purported to give the "facts" behind the strike. The leaflet described the strike as a "tale of greed, selfishness and plunder by the few at the expense of the many."

If a strike is successful, the Communist Party reaps a propaganda windfall from it by claiming that the Party was primarily responsible for

arousing and mobilizing the workers. A successful strike is hailed as a "tremendous workers' victory" over the "rule of the capitalists" and the "forces of reaction and fascism." If the strike is a failure, the "capitalist bosses" are blamed, and the defeat is used by the Party to fan anew the flames of class hatred.(27)

Communists have been active in thousands of strikes--large and small--in the United States during the 38-year history of the Communist Party. The San Francisco general strike of July, 1934, in which communists played a major role, involved over 100,000 workers.(28) On the other hand, a communist shop steward led a three-man walkout in a Montana chemical works in February, 1954.

C. Early Communist Activity in American Labor Movement

1. Tactic of "Boring from Within"

While the Communist Party in the United States has always aimed to secure control of the American trade-union movement, it has, during varying periods of its history, adopted different tactics to achieve this end. In the period immediately following its organization in September, 1919, the Communist Party, USA, adopted a policy of revolutionary trade-unionism, with emphasis on industrial organization,

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and openly advocated the overthrow of capitalism and the "proletarian conquest of power." These tactics continued in effect until the publication of Lenin's pamphlet, "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder, in 1920 caused a complete revision in the Party's trade-union policy.

In brief, Lenin instructed communists throughout the world to "bore from within" the trade-union movement in order to bring noncommunist unions under communist control. Lenin expressed what might be called the communist credo pertaining to labor unions:

> "...We must be able...to agree to all and every sacrifice, and even--if need be--to resort to various strategems, artifices, illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, only so as to get into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs...." (29)

Lenin also pointed out that communists must maintain close contact with the trade-unions, and his words reveal the emphasis he placed on the use of agitation and propaganda:

> "...Naturally, in practice, this close contact calls for very complicated and diversified work in the form of propaganda, agitation, timely and frequent conferences, not only with the leading trade union workers, but with influential trade union workers generally..." (30)

2. Trade Union Educational League

The shift in the trade-union policy of the Communist Party in the United States took the practical form of all-out support of the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), which had been organized in 1920 by William Z. Foster.[31] Foster is now, at 77 years of age, chairman emeritus of the Communist Party, USA.

In the years before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Foster had been, in succession, a member of the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World.* By the end of 1917, he had achieved some prominence as a labor organizer, having played a leading role in organizing workers in the Chicago meat-packing industry.[32]

Early in 1918, the AFL began a drive to organize workers in the steel industry, and Foster, who had made a speech affirming his belief in the principles of the AFL, was selected as a member of the organizing committee.[33] The steel strike that ensued was a failure, and Foster blamed Samuel Gompers for his lack of cooperation. Gompers was one of the founders of the AFL and was its head at the time of the steel campaign. Foster contended that the strike would have succeeded had Gompers backed his plan with the necessary manpower and funds.[34]

*See Appendix for citation.

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Foster's work in the steel campaign was directed toward the accomplishment of an aim he had nourished for years--the transformation of the AFL into a "progressive" organization by ridding it of its "bureaucrats" and "fakers," as he termed AFL leaders.(35) Gompers later wrote that Foster's actions convinced him that Foster's original conciliatory policy toward the AFL and the trade-union movement "was for no other reason than to gain some foothold by which he could undermine and destroy the bona fide labor movement of America and to try to reconstruct it upon the Soviet revolutionary basis."(36)

While Foster's Trade Union Educational League had no real following among American trade-unions, the Comintern saw an opportunity to use it to implement Lenin's tactic of "boring from within" and thus become the principal communist labor front organization in the United States. In the Spring of 1921, a representative of the Comintern, in conjunction with the underground Communist Party in the United States, invited Foster, Earl Browder, and Ella Reeve Bloor to represent the TUEL at the first World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU),* in Moscow. Browder and Bloor had been communists for several years; Foster was not, but he joined the Communist Party on his return from the Soviet Union.

*The Red International of Labor Unions, also known as the Profintern, was a subsidiary of the Communist International that specialized in labor affairs.

In consultation with Profintern leaders, Foster laid plans to capture control of the AFL. Heavily subsidized with funds, Foster came back to the United States in the Fall of 1921 with instructions to work under the direction of the central committee of the Communist Party, USA. The TUEL became known as the American section of the Profintern.

The TUEL adopted practically the entire trade-union policy of the communists. Its program called for an amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions, organization of the unorganized, "independent" political action, recognition of Soviet Russia, abolition of capitalism, and establishment of a workers' republic in the United States.

The TUEL unleashed an organizational and propaganda attack on the AFL. Through its "boring from within" program, the TUEL succeeded in gaining partial control over some unions affiliated with the AFL, particularly in Illinois. Recognizing the communist threat, the AFL proceeded to take drastic punitive measures against TUEL adherents within the AFL. Many AFL unions insisted on loyalty pledges; TUEL members were removed from union offices and others were expelled.

The three major fields of TUEL activity were mining, textiles, and the needle trades. The most concentrated communist effort in unions

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during this period took place in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), where communists sought to relieve John L. Lewis of his leadership of 400,000 coal miners.

The communists opened their campaign against Lewis with a heavy propaganda broadside. He was called a "gangster," "agent of the bosses," "miners' czar," "thug," "murderer," and every other conceivable epithet. The mine fields were flooded with derogatory printed propaganda blasting Lewis' reputation and leadership. In an election in 1924, after the communist candidate for the presidency of the UMWA had been defeated, communists charged that Lewis had disenfranchised thousands of union voters and had stolen the election by fraudulently counting the ballots.

The Profintern sent subsidies to the TUEL to support special miners' papers, to arrange national conventions of "progressive" miners, to bribe mine union officials, and to pay for a host of communist organizers in the mining fields. Benjamin Gitlow, one of the leaders of the Communist Party, USA, during that period, estimates that the Profintern spent over $500,000 to destroy Lewis. In the end, however, Lewis managed to survive the communist assault and to keep control of the UMWA. (37) (38)

In the textile industry, the TUEL promoted and led a bitter year-long strike in 1926 in the woolen mills of Passaic, New Jersey. This

strike was the first major communist-led strike in the history of the United States, and communists exploited and propagandized it to the fullest possible extent.

In the needle trades industry in New York City, by 1925 the TUEL had greatly influenced large sections of the fur and ladies' garment workers. Communists succeeded in capturing the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, which remained firmly in their hands for nearly 30 years, during which time it faithfully parroted the communist propaganda line.

The retrogression of the TUEL into a mere "revolutionary propaganda organization" led to a Comintern decision in 1927 that American communists should form a "progressive" bloc in the trade-union movement. This caused a drastic change in the Party's program of working inside existing AFL trade-unions to one of organizing unions controlled and dominated completely by the Communist Party. By 1928, the TUEL had begun establishing its own unions outside the AFL in such industries as mining, steel, automobile, textile, marine, lumber, agriculture, food, and shoe.

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3. Trade Union Unity League

To mark the temporary abandonment of the policy of "boring from within" and the beginning of concentrated efforts to establish communist unions, the Trade Union Educational League changed its name to the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL) in September, 1929. The TUUL, like its predecessor, functioned as the American section of the Red International of Labor Unions and, like other creations of the Comintern, aimed at mobilizing and propagandizing the working class for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system. The literature of the TUUL was supervised and edited by the central committee of the Communist Party, USA, which, in fact, dominated all the activities of the TUUL.

Among the so-called independent unions which were formed by and were affiliated with the TUUL during this period were the National Textile Workers Union, the National Miners Union, the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, the Needle Trades Industrial Union, and the Marine Transport Industrial Union. (39)

The TUUL thoroughly exploited every aspect of the Depression that engulfed the United States in the early 1930's. Communists propagandized the Depression as a predictable and inevitable collapse of the capitalist economy. With such a theme, communists began to work among the unemployed.

The TUUL and the Communist Party jointly established a communist front organization known as the National Unemployment Councils, * which conducted many strikes, demonstrations, hunger marches, mass delegations, et cetera, throughout the country during the early 1930's. (40)

Numerous strikes were instigated or participated in by TUUL unions during the early 1930's, reaching a climax in 1933 and 1934. Among the more important strikes which occurred were the Pacific Coast marine strike, the San Francisco general strike, and the national textile strike. Although many of the unions involved in these strikes were affiliated with the AFL, the TUUL played a vital part through the active support of its own unions. (41)

Through their agitation and propaganda, the TUEL and TUUL succeeded in winning some followers in their attempts to establish independent unionism. At its peak, the TUUL numbered among its affiliates a dozen national industrial unions, as well as some local organizations. However, the TUEL and the TUUL never had memberships of more than 100,000, and their memberships admittedly were subject to violent fluctuations.

The rise of fascism in Germany, Italy, and Japan, and the growing realization by communists everywhere that fascism constituted a deadly

*See Appendix for citation.

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peril to the communist movement and to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) presaged a change in international communist tactics. The end of the campaign to organize communist unions and the advent of the period of the "united front" came in August, 1935, at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow. Georgi Dimitroff, general secretary of the Comintern, announced that the international communist movement should abandon its militant, "left sectarian" tactics in effect since 1928, and create the broadest possible "united front against fascism." Every noncommunist organization and government were to become potential targets for communist infiltration and "united front" propaganda. Communist unions were to be dissolved in all countries, and their members were to affiliate with established unions.

In the United States, accordingly, the TUUL was dissolved, and TUUL members were instructed to rejoin the AFL. Once again, communists in trade-unions were to "bore from within."

D. Communist Infiltration of CIO

1. Communist Role in Formation of CIO

In the early 1930's, the AFL, which was organized on a craft basis, faced the problem of organizing millions of unorganized workers employed in the mass-production industries. A strong move toward industrial unionism

broke out and, as a result, a Committee for Industrial Organization was formed in 1935 by a group of affiliated AFL unions under the leadership of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America. In 1938, the Committee for Industrial Organization was reorganized as a federation of national and international unions under the name Congress of Industrial Organizations.(42)

Early in the new "united front" period, the Communist Party devoted all its attention to the AFL. In spite of the fact that the CIO's program for industrial unionism coincided with the traditional communist trade-union policy, communists ignored or opposed efforts of the CIO for nearly two years.(43)

By 1937, however, communists had come to recognize that the CIO presented them with a splendid opportunity to implement their "united front" program.(44) William Z. Foster disclosed the political and propaganda considerations which prompted the Communist Party to give its belated support to the CIO:

> "The C. I. O....displays many progressive political tendencies; it has a sharp and growing anti-fascist, anti-war trend;...its leaders, unlike those of the A. F. of L., are not carrying on slander campaigns against the U. S. S. R. and the Communist Party. In short, around the C. I. O. are grouping the major mass forces that should, with effective leadership, eventually crystallize into a great American People's Front." (45)

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In its initial organizational drives in the mass-production industries, the CIO desperately needed experienced union organizers and workers. Not only did communists have this experience, but, in many cases, they were conveniently located in the specific industries being organized. As a result, communists joined the CIO in droves.

The communist contribution to the formation and success of the new CIO was tremendous. Foster has this to say about the communist role in creating the CIO:

> "The Communists played a decisive part in the great strikes and organizing drives that established the C. I. O. .... The new unions certainly did not learn their militant organizing spirit, intensified political activity, internationalism, more enlightened Negro policy, shop steward system, rank-and-file democracy, anti-racketeer fight, mass picketing, union singing, sit-down strikes, slow-down strikes, and sound fighting policies from the old-line trade union leaders who officially headed the historic movement...." (46)

Communists were well qualified to exercise a vital role in the CIO. For years, they had paid major attention to organizing the basic industries. In their work in the TUEL and TUUL, they had accumulated vast and varied practical experience, as well as extensive and valuable contacts among workers. Communists were experts in every phase of organization, agitation, and propaganda. They were extremely competent and versatile in manipulating

parliamentary procedure; making speeches; publishing newspapers, magazines, and shop papers; preparing pamphlets and leaflets; operating the Mimeograph; fomenting and conducting strikes; establishing picket lines; and organizing demonstrations.

No job was too small or too large for communist organizers, agitators, and propagandists. They were in the thick of the organizing battles in automobile plants, in steel mills, and in rubber factories. The trade-union lessons they had learned so well while working in the TUEL and TUUL, they applied effectively to the organization of the CIO. With industry and a singleness of purpose, they contrived to infiltrate and entrench themselves in posts of authority and influence in the CIO, ranging from national union officers to shop stewards. (47) (48) (49)

Prominent in the procommunist faction in the CIO were Lee Pressman, CIO general counsel, and Len DeCaux, CIO national director of publicity and editor of the CIO News. Pressman and DeCaux, both members of the Communist Party, were appointed to their posts in 1936. In addition to exerting great influence over CIO policy within the jurisdiction of their individual offices, Pressman and DeCaux were instrumental in placing communists and communist sympathizers in national CIO headquarters and in many of the affiliated unions.

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By 1938, communists had so successfully penetrated the CIO as to have gained complete or partial control of a large number of CIO unions. These unions included the American Communications Association; the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; the National Maritime Union; the Transport Workers Union; the United Office and Professional Workers of America; the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians; the American Newspaper Guild; the United Automobile Workers of America; the State, County and Municipal Workers of America; the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America; and the Woodworkers of America. In such vantage positions, communists used the CIO in every possible way to render incalculable propaganda support to the cause of communism. (50)

2. Peak Communist Strength in CIO

As communists gained strength in the CIO, they became more determined in their efforts to follow the lead set by the Communist Party, USA. The economic and social interests of the membership of the communist-operated unions were ignored or subordinated as all the propaganda resources and influence of those unions were marshalled to support the rapidly shifting policies adopted by the Communist Party before, during, and after World War II.

Prior to 1939, the Communist Party propagandized and agitated in favor of building a "united front" to defeat the "forces of reaction, fascism, and war." It was not too difficult for communists to maneuver many CIO unions into a position to serve as a sounding board for such propaganda. An analysis of the union publications, convention proceedings, positions taken by union representatives at CIO conventions and executive board meetings, and policies adopted by a number of CIO unions during 1938-1939 reflects that each of them consistently and vigorously espoused the Communist Party line. This included such issues as advocating collective security with Soviet Russia, demanding a change in the Neutrality Act to permit shipments of arms to "victims of fascist attacks," and identifying Nazism as one of the most momentous problems confronting American labor.(51)

In August, 1939, the foreign policy of the USSR changed abruptly when Soviet leaders signed a Nonaggression Pact with Hitler. Immediately, the Communist Party, USA, commenced to denounce the defense program of the United States as a program fostered by Wall Street. The Selective Service Act was labeled an instrument by which rich industrialists intended to impose a dictatorship upon this country. The Lend-Lease bill was termed a "war powers" bill. Communist-dominated unions in the CIO quickly fell into line.(52) For instance, the September, 1939, issue of the Fur and Leather Worker, the organ of the communist-led International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, declared:

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> "By her timely nonaggression pact with Germany, Soviet Russia not only moved to a neutral position comparable to the United States as a measure of self-defense, but also succeeded in splitting the 'axis' wide open and in stiffening democratic resistance to Hitler...." (53)

Publications of other communist-run CIO unions joined in the propaganda parade in defense of the Soviet Union's action. Fascism was forgotten as strict neutrality was demanded. American foreign policy was repeatedly and violently attacked. (54)

By 1939, communists had become so strategically placed and so firmly embedded in many CIO unions that the words of Party propagandists could be immediately transformed into mass action by communist union representatives. To implement their new isolationist policies, communists set the stage for an epidemic of strikes in American industries designed to hinder this country's defense efforts. (55)

During the 38-year history of the American communist movement, communists have instigated, led, or participated in thousands of strikes. But none had a more critical effect on American production than those called by procommunist trade-unions during the period from the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of August, 1939, until the German invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941.

The Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company strike at West Allis, Wisconsin, was one of the most widely publicized communist-instigated defense strikes. The strike lasted 76 days, from January to April, 1941, and affected $45,000,000 worth of national defense contracts. The strike was precipitated by the communist head of the CIO union at this plant.

Another flagrant communist-inspired defense strike during this period occurred at the North American Aviation Corporation in Inglewood, California, early in June, 1941. This firm had a backlog of $200,000,000 worth of airplane contracts for the United States and Great Britain. Company officials refused the contract demands of the CIO union which represented the employees. An unauthorized and wildcat strike was called on June 5 by west-coast union officials and rank-and-file negotiators, many of whom had communist affiliations. National CIO leaders immediately suspended the west-coast union officials from the union, but, despite this action, a riot took place at the plant on June 9. Only when President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered the Army to seize the struck plant did violence cease and the employees return to work.

With Germany's assault on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, communist-led unions hurriedly launched a propaganda barrage to agitate

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for aid to the USSR. In an action typical of such unions, the American Communications Association (ACA) called a special meeting of its executive board and adopted a statement "decrying the vicious aggressions of Fascist Germany and calling upon the administration to give full aid to the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and all other nations opposing Hitlerism."(56)

After Pearl Harbor, communist-controlled unions echoed the pleas of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, USA, for the immediate opening of a second front in Europe. An illustration of such pleas was an editorial in the official ACA publication in March, 1942, demanding an all-out offensive against Germany's "exposed western flanks" by American and British forces.(57) The intensity with which this issue was pressed by communist propagandists through trade-union publications alone is shown by the fact that the Fur and Leather Worker mentioned the necessity for a second front in each of its issues throughout 1942 and 1943.(58)

The change in communist tactics was evident, too, in communist propaganda concerning strikes in industry. In October, 1940, the Communist Party had condemned the "no-strike" policy adopted by the majority of the leaders of the AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods.(59) But in December, 1941, the Party completely reversed itself when it issued a statement asserting that

"all disputes in industry must now even more urgently than before be solved without interruptions of production."(60)

Communist-dominated unions promptly responded by endorsing the "no-strike" pledge and, through their publications, even went so far as to advocate that the pledge be carried over into peacetime to "defend the security of the Nation now and after the war." The hypocrisy of such tactics was clearly illustrated in May, 1946, by an announcement which appeared in the Dispatcher, the organ of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, to the effect that "strike time is here."(61)

The common desire by both communists and noncommunists in the United States to win the war resulted in a period of comparative harmony in the trade-unions. Even then, the changing tactics of communist organizers and propagandists in the unions caused confusion. In their eagerness to champion every measure that would contribute to the ability of the United States to render aid to the USSR, communists adopted the battle cry "Everything for National Unity!"(62) In line with this, union communists agitated in favor of the labor conscription program and the National Service Act recommended by President Roosevelt, much to the consternation of the national CIO, which strongly opposed such proposed legislation on the grounds that

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it was contrary to all the principles on which the American labor movement (63) was based.

The end of World War II and the beginning of the "cold war" between the United States and the USSR saw American communists discard the unity theme in their propaganda. Their program developed in scope as the breach between this country and the Soviet Union widened. As events progressed, the Communist Party, USA, increasingly and more blatantly denounced the foreign policy of the United States, condemning such projects as the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, the Truman Doctrine, and the American plan for control of atomic energy.

Communist-led trade-unions pushed the postwar program of the Communist Party with an ardor that left little doubt--if there had been any before--as to their communist affiliations. While one union was ridiculing the "get-tough-with-Russia-at-any-cost swivel chair political generals," another would be hailing the Soviet Union as the one truly socialist country "where the workers and farmers run the government." While one union publication was minimizing charges of Soviet espionage in Canada and denouncing as "villainous" the claim that the Polish Government was Soviet dominated, another would be alleging that the United States was striving "to rule the world." While the executive board of one communist-controlled union was deriding the Marshall Plan as

nothing more than a "monstrous plot against freedom and living standards," communist leaders in another union were representing Russia as a land of peace and plenty. (64)

After the war, the Soviet Union saw the need for a new international labor front organization to replace the defunct Profintern. Accordingly, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)* was established in Paris in the Fall of 1945. At its foundation, the WFTU claimed the affiliation of national labor organizations in nearly 50 countries, with a total membership of 64,000,000. (u)

The WFTU was substantially the result of the cooperative efforts of the Soviet trade-unions, the British Trades Union Congress, and the CIO. The AFL refused to affiliate with the WFTU. The membership of the British Trades Union Congress and the CIO supplied the new organization with a noncommunist, non-Russian base that gave it the appearance of a legitimate world labor agency. Communists, of course, exercised full control since the secretariat, located in Paris, was under the direction of Louis Saillant, secretary-general of the WFTU. Saillant was also secretary of the communist-led French Confederation of Labor. (u)

The WFTU was designed to serve principally as a propaganda instrument, permitting communist propaganda to be disseminated under the

*See Appendix for citation. (u)

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guise of a recognized and accepted international labor body. The WFTU was swift to propagandize all issues which would reflect discredit upon noncommunist countries--primarily the United States--and, at the same time, conveniently ignore any matters which might embarrass Soviet Russia. (u)

3. CIO Expulsion of Communist-Dominated Unions

Many officials and rank-and-file members of the CIO had long been aware that communists had secured and exerted an undue amount of strength and influence within the CIO. As time passed, it became more and more evident that communists in the CIO were less interested in legitimate union activities and the welfare of the workers than in propagandizing the Communist Party line. Their persistent espousal of the USSR in international affairs became increasingly repugnant to the CIO leadership and the membership. (65)

The end of the war and another shift in Soviet foreign policy from one of "unity" and collaboration to one of virulent anti-Americanism stirred the anticommunist forces in the CIO into action. In late 1946, the Massachusetts CIO passed a constitutional amendment barring communists from holding state office within their organization. At about the same time, the New Jersey CIO State Industrial Council approved a resolution condemning

communism as "alien" to the American people.(66)

The national CIO began to take steps to remove communists from top posts. Early in 1947, Philip Murray, CIO president, demoted Harry Bridges from the position of California director of the CIO.(67) Bridges was, and still is, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).*

A few months later, Len DeCaux, CIO national director of publicity and editor of the CIO News, was requested to resign. Under DeCaux's editorship, much opposition had been engendered against the CIO News because of the flagrant communist propaganda which appeared in its news stories and editorials. A number of the anticommunist CIO international unions had refused to distribute the publication to their membership because of its procommunist slant.(68)

In February, 1948, Lee Pressman resigned as CIO general counsel. His removal had long been sought by anticommunist leaders in the CIO. Pressman's departure rid national CIO headquarters of the last important procommunist official.

*The ILWU was expelled from the CIO in 1950 for following the policies and programs of the Communist Party, USA.

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Still further manifestation of the growing anticommunism of the CIO leadership was the decision of the CIO executive board in May, 1949, to formally disaffiliate the CIO from the World Federation of Trade Unions. The CIO charged that the WFTU was functioning for political and propaganda purposes rather than for legitimate trade-union action. (69)

In December, 1949, in place of the WFTU, the CIO, together with the AFL and the United Mine Workers of America, participated in forming a new noncommunist world-wide labor organization called the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. (70)

In the mounting clamor to stamp out communist elements within its ranks, the CIO soon found itself a target of communist vituperation. The Communist Party employed all of its propaganda techniques and channels to berate the CIO as a "tool of reaction and imperialism." Communist-led unions hurled vitriolic accusations at the parent organization, but their wild propaganda charges only served to swell the rising tide of anticommunist indignation.

By the time the national convention of the CIO met in the Fall of 1949, CIO leaders were prepared to take drastic action against affiliated communist-dominated unions. The convention adopted a constitutional amendment barring from office in the national CIO any individual who was a member

of the Communist Party or who consistently pursued the policies and activities of the Party. Two other constitutional changes empowered the CIO executive board to remove, or refuse to seat, offending officers and to revoke the charters of affiliates found guilty of following policies or engaging in activities prohibited by the CIO's noncommunist amendment.

Two affiliated unions--the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America and the United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America--were expelled summarily by the convention. Charges were brought against ten other procommunist CIO international unions and separate committees were appointed to hear the charges, evidence, and testimony. The ten unions investigated were the American Communications Association; the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of America; the International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America; the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada; the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; the United Office and Professional Workers of America; the United Public Workers of America; (71) and the United Furniture Workers of America.

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The charges against the United Furniture Workers of America were dismissed following a convention at which its procommunist officers were replaced by anticommunists. (72)

In February, 1950, the committees returned devastating indictments against the other unions, recommending their expulsion from the CIO. The core of their findings is contained in the following paragraphs:

"...Communist philosophy has always been predicated upon the use of trade-unions as an instrument of Communist policy and as a weapon by which the party could organize the working classes and bring nearer the revolution from which the dictatorship of the party would emerge....The Communist movement has thus always sought to operate through trade-unions, to speak in the language of labor and as a spokesman and leader of labor, and thus, by trickery and strategems, to direct labor toward the goals of communism.

"...its program is based upon one fundamental objective--the support of the Soviet Union...The policies which the party adopts are stated to be policies for the achievement of the goals of American labor--not for the advancement of the cause of the Soviet Union. But, over a period of years it is clear that the goals of American labor, as stated by the party, are always found to be those policies which will aid the Soviet Union. As the tactical position of the Soviet Union in the world has changed, the program of the American Communist Party 'for American labor' has accommodated itself. And, when it seemed in the interest of the Soviet Union for American labor to forsake its heritage and to adopt policies contradictory to the whole fabric of the labor movement, the Communist Party adopted such policies." (73)

Comments made by the investigating committees in some of the individual unions graphically demonstrate the extent to which communists

utilized such unions to propagandize and implement the Communist Party's policies and programs.

The committee which investigated the United Office and Professional Workers of America (UOPWA), for example, had this to say:

> "...the UOPWA has been both isolationist and interventionist. It has been first pro-Roosevelt, and anti-Roosevelt, and, then again, pro-Roosevelt. It has been both pro-Truman and anti-Truman. And it has taken these positions in time with the beat called by the Communist Party...." (74)

Speaking of the changes in the policies of the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America (FTA), the committee stated that "they show only one undeviating parallel--the damning parallel between the policies of the FTA and the Communist Party." (75)

Of the American Communications Association (ACA), the committee which investigated it said:

> "One fact is of great significance. Never in the history of the ACA has any policy been adopted which in any way ran counter to the policies of the Communist Party or to the interests of the Soviet Union as those interests are reflected in the program of the Communist Party...." (76)

In connection with the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada (IFLWU), the committee emphasized that "the IFLWU's publications are rife with Marxist and Stalinist doctrine, and with Soviet propaganda." (77)

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By the latter part of 1950, the CIO had expelled a total of eleven affiliated unions which it found guilty of espousing communist policies. The expulsion of these unions served to cripple the efforts of communists to turn the American labor movement into a powerful and sinister force for communist agitation and propaganda.

E. Communist Efforts To Regain Influence in Labor Movement

In the period following the CIO's decisive move to cleanse itself of its communist-infested affiliates, the Communist Party urged the expelled unions to join forces and pool their resources; however, it proposed they do so without forming a separate labor organization "in order to withstand the attacks of the government, the monopolies, and the CIO and AFL." In the meantime, communist publications purporting to be legitimate labor organs took up the propaganda burden of defending the expelled unions and their communist leaders. The Party exhorted the expelled unions to fight to "survive all current attempts to destroy them." (78)

Communists marked time, waiting for a new opportunity to once again penetrate and influence the American labor movement. But they did not abandon their familiar techniques of agitation and propaganda. Individually, the remaining communist-controlled unions were still powerful tools in

communist hands--instruments which could be used to influence national and international events. During the Korean War, for instance, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers instituted a number of strikes which seriously impaired the flow of such strategic metals as copper and zinc to plants producing war material.

In 1953, communists signaled the start of a new offensive aimed at enabling them to move back into the mainstream of the labor movement. William Z. Foster declared that "it is high time...that the banner of Socialism again be unfurled far and wide in the labor movement," and that the Communist Party "gird itself to play its maximum part in this struggle." (79)

Communist propagandists launched a campaign emphasizing such issues as wages, speed-ups, antilabor legislation, and peace in an effort to achieve united labor action and lay the groundwork for "a new mass people's party based on labor." The drive continued through 1954, with the Communist Party leading the way. "The labor movement is ripe for the broadest united front fight in support of the workers' elementary demands," Foster proclaimed, as he laid down the program to be followed by communist propagandists in the trade-unions. (80)

When, in December, 1955, the AFL and CIO resolved their long-standing differences and finally merged, communists regarded this

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as another propitious moment to resume their former position of influence in the labor unions. While communist propagandists strongly protested the anticommunist policy which AFL and CIO leaders adopted in their consolidation agreement, the Communist Party encouraged communists in the unions to support the merger. The Party made the prediction that the new consolidated labor organization "can lead to a rapid growth of a progressive trend in the united labor movement on a much higher level than it has been and for a more advanced program."(81)

Of the eleven unions expelled by the CIO during 1949-1950 on charges of communist domination, only four remain as independent unions. These are the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; the American Communications Association; the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. These four unions exert influence in the electrical and communications industries, in copper and zinc mining, and on west-coast shipping. One of them--the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union--exercises strategic control over Hawaiian and Pacific-coast commerce.

The United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America merged with the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, while

the International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America was absorbed by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

The International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada became a department of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL). The United Office and Professional Workers of America and the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America are now part of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (CIO).

The United Public Workers of America and the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards both went out of existence. (82)

Today, communists and the Communist Party are held in justifiably low repute by the American trade-union movement. Constitutional provisions bar communists from membership or from holding office in many unions. At its 16th National Convention in February, 1957, the Communist Party, USA, engaged in some sober soul-searching concerning its current status in the trade-unions, admitting that the Party does not exert the influence it enjoyed in past years. The Party concluded that the major reason for its decline has been that the Party placed undue emphasis on political and propaganda activity in its trade-union work and

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failed to remember that unions are primarily interested in the economic improvement of their members. (83)

Then, with typical communist blandness and hypocrisy, the Party advanced this piece of mendacious propaganda:

> "It is not the policy of the Communist Party to interfere with, 'bore from within,' or to seek to capture or control the trade unions. We reject any allegation that this is our policy. We respect the complete political and organizational independence of the trade unions and other organizations of the working class. We Communists seek to influence the organized workers by persuasion, discussion and example, as we do any other section of the population. Abiding by the discipline of the union, we always favor the full involvement of the membership in policy-making as well as the activities of the unions." (84)

II. COMMUNIST USE OF FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

A. Purposes and Functions of Communist Fronts

In addition to the trade-union, the front is another type of organization which constitutes one of the most important and effective mediums of agitation and propaganda employed by the Communist Party, USA. The front organization is a screen or cover behind which many of the political, agitation, and propaganda activities of the Communist Party are carried on. Communists in the United States--as elsewhere throughout the world--have long made extensive use of front organizations as part of their efforts to camouflage the real source and direction of their subversive operations.

The utility of front organizations was recognized, years ago, by both Lenin and Joseph Stalin. They held that mass organizations, or "transmission belts," under the influence and direction of the Communist Party, are indispensable in mobilizing, organizing, and maneuvering the masses to bring about the transition from capitalism to communism. (85) (86)

Front organizations--like labor unions--are particularly valuable to communists. They materially aid the Communist Party in establishing "contact with the masses" and extending its power and

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influence, principally through agitation and propaganda, far beyond the limitations of its own membership. Through fronts, the Communist Party is able to enlist the support of and to activate many noncommunists in pursuit of the communist goal of overthrowing capitalism and replacing it with communism.

A pioneer in the building of communist front organizations on an international scale was a German communist named Willy Muenzenberg. Muenzenberg, who was a propaganda specialist of the Comintern, made a speech at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in 1928, in which he described the real purposes of communist fronts:

1. To arouse the interest of workers who are indifferent to communist propaganda as promoted by communist parties
2. To gain the support of communist sympathizers
3. To extend the sphere of communist influence
4. To encourage sympathy for the Soviet Union and for communists
5. To counteract noncommunist and anticommunist propaganda
6. To act as training schools for Communist Party members (87)

In the past 38 years in the United States, thousands of communist front organizations have been formed to promote a wide variety of causes--foreign, national, regional, state, and local. Front organizations have been

active in every domain which communists deem significant. Practically no segment of American society has been ignored nor any part of the population overlooked as a possible target group for communist fronts. Communists offer a front as a vehicle for expressing and publicizing every conceivable protest and demand which they can exploit and propagandize to their own advantage.

B. Methods of Creating and Controlling Communist Fronts

Front organizations are mere pawns in the hands of Communist Party tacticians and propagandists to be created, transformed, and dissolved in accordance with the needs of the constantly changing Party line. Many communist fronts have existed for only a brief moment and then disappeared. Others have been more durable, enjoying a year or two of life before going out of existence. A few, however, have, except for changes in name, survived for years. (88)

Generally speaking, communist fronts are created in three ways. Many fronts are planned, organized, and established from their very beginning by communists themselves. Others are formed by communist infiltration of existing noncommunist organizations until, through chicanery and manipulation, communists ultimately gain complete control. Still

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others are created through a coalition wherein communists work with non-communists to form an organization which is eventually taken over entirely by communists.(89)

In infiltrating noncommunist organizations or working through coalitions, communists aim for the positions of power--just as they do in trade-unions--which will permit them to engage the organizations in political and propaganda activity. In most organizations, the key posts are the executive secretary, corresponding secretary, educational director, and editor of the organization's publication. Communists destined for such positions make a point of ingratiating themselves with noncommunist officers and the membership. By espousing the legitimate needs and wishes of the members, they strive to gain support which can be subsequently exploited on behalf of the Communist Party. When communists finally occupy the top positions, it is then possible for them to indoctrinate the membership with a procommunist attitude and to use these posts as outlets for communist propaganda.(90)

The degree of communist control in an organization in which communists are active varies. It is often complete, as was true in the American Youth for Democracy.* Sometimes, the control is extensive, as was the

*See Appendix for citation.

case of the American Labor Party.* At other times, partial or limited control is exerted on a national, state, or local level.

For years, a number of esteemed and influential noncommunist "mass" organizations have been targets of communist infiltration attempts. The Communist Party hopes to secure their eventual control and convert them into useful political and propaganda vehicles of the Communist Party. As a case in point, communists long have been seeking to gain a substantial foothold in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the largest and most powerful noncommunist Negro organization in the United States. Their efforts, however, have been unsuccessful.

Communists are ever ready to endorse and support the programs and activities of noncommunist organizations when they coincide with those of the Communist Party. In this way, communists endeavor to strengthen their claim that the Communist Party, in keeping with respected and patriotic noncommunist organizations, shares the best interests and welfare of the American people.

During 1957, for instance, a number of legitimate noncommunist organizations actively protested against continued nuclear bomb tests by the United States because of the danger of excessive fall-out. The

*See Appendix for citation.

communist press gave much publicity to these groups because their activities were in accord with international communism's propaganda campaign against the further testing of nuclear weapons.

The multiplication of front organizations is one of the distinctive features of communist front activity. A new front frequently evolves from one or more previously existing fronts. With a long-established and extensive network of fronts available to them, communists have no difficulty forming new ones, as an initial group of supporters can be readily mobilized from former or existing fronts.(91)

Communist propaganda campaigns are invariably accompanied by the establishment of one or more front organizations centered around the issue at hand. One outstanding example of this was the creation in 1951 of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, * by means of which the Communist Party, USA, launched a massive and profitable propaganda campaign on behalf of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs had been convicted of conspiring to commit atomic espionage for the Soviet Union.

Untold propaganda benefits have accrued to the international communist movement from the Rosenberg campaign during the past six years.

*See Appendix for citation.

Although the Rosenbergs were executed in 1953 for their crimes, an insistent propaganda drive to vindicate them has been waged to this day. The history and activities of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, one of the most successful of all communist front organizations, will be treated in detail in a later monograph relating to communist campaigns.

C. Concealment of Communist Nature of Fronts

Communists exercise great pains to hide the communist origin and character of their front organizations. Fronts are invariably referred to in Party vernacular as "progressive" organizations. Organizations are given highly innocuous, idealistic, or patriotic names to conceal the true reason for their existence. Among the words most commonly included in the names of communist fronts in this country are "American," "International," "Democratic," "Liberties," "Rights," "Freedom," "Worker," "Labor," "Washington," "Lincoln," and "Jefferson."

To give a front an aura of legitimacy and respectability, communists resort to the familiar practice of exploiting prominent persons. An impressive list of notable and distinguished persons is compiled to serve as window dressing for a communist front. Communists do this,knowing

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full well that the names of clergymen, scientists, educators, writers, and well-known individuals associated with any communist front will have a favorable propaganda effect on the unwary and the unsuspecting, tending to attract and enlist the sympathy and support of ordinary people.(92)

Hence, communist front organizations of any size or consequence capitalize on the publicity and propaganda value arising from the affiliations with their groups of outstanding individuals who are not communists. Over the years, a host of well-meaning, intelligent, and patriotic Americans of note have been persuaded, for sincere and idealistic reasons, to lend the prestige of their names to communist fronts, causes, or campaigns. Most of these men and women were prompted to endorse or espouse what they had been led to believe were laudable objectives and programs. In some cases, they were either too naive or too unfamiliar with communist propaganda and organizational techniques to realize that they had been used as dupes. They were not aware that the communist leaders or organizers of the organization, cause, or campaign had no such altruistic motives, but were only concerned with exploiting it to achieve communist goals.(93)

There is a disturbing repetition in the names of many of the notables who have allowed themselves to be identified with communist fronts. The

Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, * which was held in New York City in 1949, offers an illuminating picture of the interlocking association of prominent individuals in fronts. The vast extent of the communist front connections of many of the 500 sponsors of this meeting is presented in a tabulation made by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. One sponsor had been affiliated with at least 85 communist front organizations; three sponsors with from 71 to 80 fronts; four with from 51 to 60 fronts; and eight with from 41 to 50 fronts. (94)

D. Types of Communist Fronts

Front organizations can be generally classified as follows: Soviet foreign-policy, minority-group, defense, political, intellectual, economic, youth, veterans', women's, agrarian, and ad hoc.

1. Soviet Foreign-Policy

Soviet foreign-policy fronts have been among the most numerous of all fronts. They are of two types--the kind which advances Soviet objectives on a world-wide scale, of which the National Committee to Win the Peace* was an illustration, and the type which concentrates on Soviet aims in one particular country, as did the American Council for a Democratic Greece. *

*See Appendix for citation.

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The first front organizations set up in most noncommunist countries in the early days of the international communist movement were so-called amity or friendship groups. They functioned primarily as propaganda agencies to extol the new Bolshevik regime in Russia. In the United States, the Friends of Soviet Russia* was organized originally by the Communist Party for the ostensible purpose of procuring relief for victims of the great Russian famine of 1921, although actually it was nothing more than a pro-Soviet propaganda vehicle. Moreover, it also served as an important cover under which the Communist Party carried on its public and semilegal activities. The Friends of Soviet Russia was wholly staffed and controlled by communists.

The Friends of Soviet Russia was later changed to the Friends of the Soviet Union.* Subsequently, it was called the American Committee for Friendship with the Soviet Union,* the American Council on Soviet Relations,* and finally the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship,* its present name. Through the years, this organization, with all its changes in name, has assiduously disseminated propaganda favorable to the USSR. (95) (96) (97)

A Soviet foreign-policy front known as the American League Against War and Fascism* is generally acknowledged to be the most effective and influential communist front organization ever to exist in the United States.

*See Appendix for citation.

It had its genesis in the Spring of 1932, when a number of active communists, fellow travelers, and noncommunists met in New York City. The American Committee for the World Congress Against War was formed as a result of this meeting. In the Summer of the same year, American delegates of this committee attended the World Congress Against War, * which met in Amsterdam, Netherlands, under communist auspices.

The following year, the First United States Congress Against War was held in New York City, leading to the establishment of the American League Against War and Fascism. Earl Browder, then general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, was named one of the officers of this organization.

Following the announcement of the formation of a "united front against fascism" at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in 1935, the name of the American League Against War and Fascism was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy.* As an aftermath of the Hitler-Stalin Nonaggression Pact of August, 1939, the League was dissolved in February, 1940. It had outlived its propaganda value due to the shift on the part of Soviet foreign policy from an anti-Nazi to a pro-Nazi position.

*See Appendix for citation.

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The remnants of the American League for Peace and Democracy furnished the nucleus around which the American Peace Mobilization* was formed in the late Summer of 1940. The American Peace Mobilization was especially created to promote isolationism in and nonintervention by the United States during the early stages of World War II.

The most notorious agitation and propaganda stunt of the American Peace Mobilization was its 43-day, round-the-clock picketing of the White House in the Spring of 1941 to protest against Lend-Lease and the national defense program of the United States. The picketing terminated suddenly on June 21, 1941, the day before Germany invaded Russia. Immediately after the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, the American Peace Mobilization was converted into the American People's Mobilization,* which, for the duration of the War, (98) (99) (100) (101) (102) (103) (104) supported the war effort of the United States.

A graphic illustration of the creation of numerous front organizations by the international communist movement for a specific propaganda purpose is the "peace" groups which have sprung up throughout the world since the end of World War II. These are part of the gigantic communist "peace" propaganda offensive which was designated by the Communist Information

*See Appendix for citation.

Bureau* as the major task of every Communist Party in the world, including the Communist Party, USA. Through this "peace" campaign, communists have endeavored to conceal the Soviet Union's aggressive, imperialistic designs and to lull noncommunist countries into a false sense of security and complacency.

In the United States, the "peace" campaign has been promoted by a succession of communist fronts. These have included the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, previously mentioned; the Campaign Committee for the World Peace Appeal;** the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact;** the Peace Information Center;** the American Peace Crusade;** and a great many other organizations, large and small, both national and local. (105)

2. Minority-Group

The Communist Party, USA, has profitably used front organizations embracing minority and foreign-born groups as vehicles of communist propaganda. The utility of foreign-born fronts is based on the fact that immigrant groups take a special interest in their native countries and

*The Communist Information Bureau, commonly called the Cominform, was formed in September, 1947, as the successor organization to the Comintern. The Cominform was dissolved in April, 1956, to give credence to the Soviet Union's policy of "peaceful co-existence."

**See Appendix for citation.

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often exert substantial pressure on the domestic and foreign policies and programs of the United States Government. Since communist interests are international in character and the influence of foreign-born groups is considerable, communists have always given special attention to establishing fronts in this field.

The largest communist foreign-born front in the United States was the International Workers Order (IWO).* The IWO was a mutual benefit society having insurance, educational, and social functions. Its membership was largely drawn from foreign-language groups in this country. Although the majority of IWO members were not affiliated with the Communist Party, most of the national and local officials were. The membership thus constituted a captive audience and were subjected to large, regular doses of communist propaganda through the IWO's agitation and propaganda apparatus.

Another foreign-born front organization is the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACPFB).* Since its establishment in 1924, the ACPFB has raised funds, provided publicity, and given legal aid to foreign-born Communist Party members and communist sympathizers who experience problems concerning immigration, naturalization, or deportation. The ACPFB has chapters in nearly a dozen principal cities.

*See Appendix for citation.

Negroes have always been targets of concentrated communist agitation and propaganda because they comprise the largest minority group in the country. Communist fronts attempt to attract Negroes by championing desegregation, fair employment practices, and civil rights and by opposing segregation, discrimination, the poll tax, and police brutality.

One of the most important communist Negro front organizations was the National Negro Congress.* It was founded in 1936, ostensibly to fight for the economic, political, and social freedom of the Negro people. The National Negro Congress was absorbed in 1947 by the Civil Rights Congress,* another communist front.

3. Defense

The function of communist defense fronts is to defend the Communist Party and individual communists involved in legal proceedings. Defense fronts often make a point of injecting themselves into cases concerning noncommunists--especially Negroes--for purposes of exploitation and propaganda.

The first prominent defense front established by the Communist Party in the United States was the International Labor Defense (ILD).* It was founded in 1925 as the American section of the International Red Aid (IRA). The IRA had been organized in the Soviet Union in 1922 as an

*Sec Appendix for citation.

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international defense and relief agency with members in over 70 countries.

During its existence, the ILD participated in a number of celebrated campaigns involving such defendants as Sacco and Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings, the Scottsboro Boys, and Angelo Herndon. In 1946, the ILD and another front, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, * merged to form the Civil Rights Congress (CRC).

The CRC soon developed into one of the largest and most influential communist front groups. During the late 1940's and early 1950's, it became, for all practical purposes, the legal arm of the Communist Party, USA. At the height of its influence, it operated 24 chapters in the major cities throughout the country. The CRC was responsible for raising over $1,000,000 for the legal defense and bail of Communist Party leaders convicted for violation of the Smith Act. **

4. Political

In the field of political action, as in other fields, the Communist Party organizes its own front groups and attempts to infiltrate and subvert noncommunist political organizations. During the 1920's, for example, when

*See Appendix for citation.

**The Smith Act, which was passed by Congress in 1940, makes it unlawful for anyone to knowingly teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing the United States Government by force or violence.

communists were operating underground, the Workers Party was formed to provide a cover for communist political and propaganda activity. In recent years, the People's Rights Party (PRP),* in New York City, has been used in an effort to give the Party a cloak of legality and permit it to circulate communist propaganda.

The PRP was initially conceived in 1946 to launch the unsuccessful campaigns of two left-wing candidates for New York State office who had been ruled off the ballots of the two major political parties. In succeeding years, prominent communists have been nominated under the PRP emblem as candidates for municipal, state, and national offices. Needless to say, all of them were overwhelmingly defeated. Dormant between election campaigns, the PRP is periodically reactivated when Party members seek election to public office in the New York City area.

The American Labor Party (ALP)* and the Progressive Party (PP)* are typical of political parties which have been infiltrated and subverted by communists. From the time of the organization of the ALP in New York State in 1936, three groups--socialists, social democrats, and communists--vied for its control. The ALP was dissolved in 1956,

*See Appendix for citation.

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but, during its existence, it frequently served as a potent agitation and propaganda arm of the Communist Party.

Communists played an active role in the organization and activities of the Progressive Party from the outset. The PP was formed shortly after World War II with the objective of making it a third major political party. Until its demise in 1956, the political program and propaganda line of the PP often closely paralleled those of the Communist Party on basic issues.

5. Intellectual

Long ago, communist tacticians and propagandists became cognizant that the intelligentsia could be useful in spreading communist propaganda. They, therefore, commenced to form front organizations in order to involve individuals active in the entertainment world, educational institutions, the press, literature, science, and the like.

The best-known communist intellectual front was the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (NCASP), * which ceased to function in 1956. This organization had its beginning about 1943 when American communist cultural leaders decided to channel the Communist Party's increasing influence among intellectuals into a force in the presidential election

*See Appendix for citation.

of 1944. Through the efforts of writers, artists, and actors in New York City and Hollywood who were communists or communist sympathizers, an organization known as the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions* was created. An imposing array of sponsors was assembled, but communists made sure that they had control of the organization by placing their own members in key posts.

Several years later, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions merged with the National Citizens Political Action Committee to form a new group known as the Progressive Citizens of America.* The National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions was established a year later at a preconvention meeting of the arts, sciences, and professions delegation to the national convention of the Progressive Citizens of America. During its lifetime, the NCASP proved to be a valuable communist propaganda outlet. (106)

6. Economic

The economic discontent of many people in the lower income brackets affords communists fruitful propaganda opportunities. Countless communist fronts have been formed among the unemployed, tenants,

*See Appendix for citation.

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consumers, and housewives to capitalize on such economic issues as unemployment, high cost of living, lack of housing, et cetera.

The Workers Alliance, * the biggest of all communist economic fronts, operated during the Depression. Its evolution is an interesting study in communist deceit and manipulation. In the early 1930's, there were three main groups of the unemployed; namely, the National Unemployment Councils, the National Unemployed League, and the Workers Alliance. The original Workers Alliance was led by David Lasser and was basically socialist. The National Unemployment Councils, on the other hand, was communist controlled and was headed by Herbert Benjamin, then an important figure in the Communist Party.

In 1936, the communists managed to convince the socialists of their desire for unity. A consolidation was arranged and a new Workers Alliance was formed, with Lasser becoming its national president and Benjamin the general secretary-treasurer. With Benjamin occupying the key position, the communist complexion of the National Unemployment Councils was soon transferred to the Workers Alliance. Within a few years, communists gained absolute control, having gradually ousted the socialists from the leadership. By June, 1940, Lasser recognized that he had become a mere figurehead. He

*See Appendix for citation.

finally resigned in disgust and thereafter denounced the Workers Alliance as a communist front.

7. Youth

Young people have been a prime propaganda target of the international communist movement since its earliest days. In countries where there is a Communist Party, there is usually a Young Communist League or some other Marxist youth organization by means of which the Party tries to indoctrinate and propagandize the youth.

The principal Marxist youth group in the United States from 1922 until 1943 was the Young Communist League (YCL), * which functioned under several different names. It was an affiliate of the Young Communist International. In 1943, the YCL transformed itself into a group known as the American Youth for Democracy (AYD).

The AYD, having run its course by 1948, was succeeded by a new youth group called the Labor Youth League (LYL).* Former AYD and YCL officials staffed the leadership of the LYL. The LYL became defunct as a national organization early in 1957. Not only did the YCL, AYD, and LYL function as training schools for young communists who later graduated to

*See Appendix for citation.

the Communist Party, but they also fulfilled an equally important task in channeling communist propaganda to noncommunist youth.

8. Veterans'

Communist propaganda has been disseminated through a number of communist veterans' fronts. The most notorious is the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, * whose membership consists of American veterans of the Spanish Civil War. Many present-day leaders of the Communist Party, USA, served with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain.

After World War II, communists formed several veterans' front organizations, foremost of which was the American Veterans for Peace. * During the postwar period, communists tried--without much success--to infiltrate such legitimate and respectable noncommunist veterans' organizations as The American Legion.

9. Women's

There have been many communist women's front organizations in the United States. In the main, they have been established to exploit and propagandize issues of paramount interest and concern to women, such as

*See Appendix for citation.

social and economic equality for women, child welfare, and peace. The Congress of American Women, * no longer in existence, was typical of a communist women's front.

10. Agrarian

Communists have expended serious efforts to exert their influence and spread communist propaganda among farmers and agricultural workers. Through complete or partial control of a few farmers' unions, Southern Negro sharecropper groups, cooperatives, and nonpartisan political groups, they have achieved only a limited measure of success with their propaganda.

11. Ad Hoc

An ad hoc, or special-purpose, front is one created by communists to exploit and propagandize a specific local, regional, national, or international incident or situation. An alleged or real act of injustice, a particular issue of interest to communists, or some new aspect of Soviet foreign policy immediately furnishes a convenient reason for communists to establish an ad hoc front. Such groups are short-lived and go out of business as soon as the occasions for which they were originated no longer exist.

*See Appendix for citation.

E. International Affiliations of American Communist Fronts

Before World War II, many communist front organizations in the United States were affiliates or sections of various international communist front organizations. The Labor Sports Union of America,* for instance, was the American affiliate of the Red Sports International; the League of American Writers* was the American section of the International Union of Revolutionary Artists; and the National Student League* was affiliated with the Proletarian Student Organization.(107)

The cordial atmosphere of wartime unity which prevailed between the USSR and the West made it easy, immediately following World War II, for the Soviets to establish a new and extensive network of international communist front organizations with affiliates in many countries, including the United States. The Women's International Democratic Federation,* as one example, was formed in late 1945 in Paris. The Congress of American Women,* previously mentioned, became its American affiliate.

The enactment of the Internal Security Act of 1950 by Congress, however, prompted American communist front organizations to relinquish or sever their formal ties with international communist fronts. Today, American communist fronts, in accordance with the communist principle of "international

*See Appendix for citation.

solidarity," are still active in propagandizing the cause of international communism and advancing the interests of the Soviet Union without the formal affiliations of the past.

The current relationship between international fronts and their American counterparts is clearly manifested in the World Festival of Youth and Students, which has been held behind the Iron Curtain every two years since 1947. The most recent festival took place in Moscow in the Summer of 1957. These festivals have been sponsored by two international communist front organizations--the World Federation of Democratic Youth* and the International Union of Students*--and have been conducted solely for the propaganda benefit of Soviet Russia. A number of young Americans, many of them members of various communist youth fronts in this country, have attended these festivals as delegates or visitors.

* See Appendix for citation.

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III. COMMUNIST GAINS FROM LABOR AND FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

While it is not possible to measure with precision the amount of communist political and propaganda influence that labor and front organizations have exerted in the United States, it can be said that their impact on the life and times of our country has been enormous and far-reaching.

The strong anticommunist policy which the AFL has always enforced, coupled with the cessation of communist trade-union activity within the AFL in 1937, has served to minimize any communist influence in the AFL. There have never been any AFL international unions under communist control.(108)

Communist influence in the CIO, on the other hand, is another matter. The early tolerance which the CIO exhibited toward communists allowed them to make serious inroads into the CIO. By the late 1930's, it is estimated that communists had obtained positions of trust, responsibility, and authority giving them complete or partial control in at least 40 per cent of the CIO unions.(109)

At the height of their influence within the CIO, communist-controlled unions accounted for nearly 25 per cent of the total CIO membership.(110) In 1949, communist-led unions claimed a membership of more than 2,000,000.(111) By reason of their great strength in the CIO, communists were in an advantageous

position, for a decade and a half, to use CIO unions as agencies for the dissemination of a flood of communist propaganda.

Even though communist influence in the American trade-union movement is now at its lowest ebb in years, the fact remains that communists have embedded themselves so deeply into various strategic sectors of labor as to prevent their complete eradication. The memories of the great power and influence they enjoyed in American labor in the past serve to inspire communists in their efforts to recapture their former glory. This determination was voiced by William Z. Foster at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, in February, 1957. As he directed the Communist Party to re-establish itself in the labor movement, Foster recalled with pride that past communist trade-union successes had been "spectacular."

There are no exact figures available as to the number of communist front organizations which have existed since the American communist movement began, but they number in the thousands. Numerous known or suspected communist fronts are in existence and functioning in the United States at the present time.

Similarly, there are no accurate statistics concerning the number of persons who have engaged in communist front activity during the life of

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the Communist Party, USA. However, the number of members and participants in several front organizations is indicative of the great numerical strength and propaganda influence possessed by fronts at the high tide of communist front activity before and during World War II.

The American League Against War and Fascism, for example, once claimed to represent groups with a total membership, direct and indirect, of 7,500,000; the Workers Alliance is reported to have had a peak membership of 800,000; and the International Workers Order is said to have had a high membership of over 160,000.

As we have seen in this study, communist labor and front organizations have played a vital and continuous role in the organized communist movement in the United States from its inception 38 years ago. The time, energy, and funds expended by American communists in their trade-union and front activities have been vast, but the advantages and benefits which they have derived therefrom have been amply rewarding from their point of view.

Primarily, of course, through the expert and widespread use of labor and front organizations, the Communist Party, USA, has reached large segments of the American people with whom the Party itself would otherwise have had

little or no contact. In this manner, the Communist Party has been able to exert great political pressure and to disseminate a stupendous amount of propaganda on behalf of communism and the USSR.

A second benefit realized by communists from labor and front organizations is that they have supplied a convenient medium for the Communist Party in fomenting strikes, conducting demonstrations, distributing communist literature, initiating campaigns, raising funds, et cetera.

Another advantage is that labor and front organizations have proved to be a useful means of recruiting new members into the Communist Party and of mobilizing communist sympathizers.

A fourth benefit has been that labor and front organizations have provided valuable political, organizational, administrative, and propaganda training and experience for individual members of the Communist Party which have materially aided in their development as communist leaders.

Finally, labor and front organizations have afforded the Communist Party, USA, an ideal cover for carrying out its political, agitation, and propaganda activities during the periods it has been compelled to operate in an illegal or clandestine capacity.

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Thus, behind an elaborate and ever-changing facade of labor and front organizations, the Communist Party, USA, has been able to veil the true nature and purpose of its agitation and propaganda activities--as well as its other operations--from the American people.

In view of the many advantages and benefits which have accrued to the communist movement in the United States from the successful use of labor and front organizations in the past, there is no reason to doubt that communists will endeavor to realize even greater gains from these same sources in the future. American communists can be expected to continue to employ trade-unions and front organizations as powerful weapons of communist agitation and propaganda.

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APPENDIX

Organizations listed hereinafter have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450 or have been cited by congressional or state committees.

Those cited by the Attorney General have been identified with the notation (Executive Order 10450) following the name of the organization.

Those cited by congressional or state committees are listed in two editions of the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., on May 14, 1951, and January 2, 1957. They have been identified with the page number and edition of the Guide following the name of the organization.

American Committee for Friendship with the Soviet Union (1951 Guide, p. 13)

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (Executive Order 10450)

American Council for a Democratic Greece (Executive Order 10450)

American Council on Soviet Relations (Executive Order 10450)

American Labor Party (1957 Guide, p. 11)

American League Against War and Fascism (Executive Order 10450)

American League for Peace and Democracy (Executive Order 10450)

American Peace Crusade (Executive Order 10450)

American Peace Mobilization (Executive Order 10450)

American People's Mobilization (1957 Guide, p. 15)

American Veterans for Peace (1957 Guide, p. 18)

American Youth for Democracy (Executive Order 10450)

Civil Rights Congress (Executive Order 10450)

Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact (1957 Guide, p. 28)

Congress of American Women (Executive Order 10450)

Friends of Soviet Russia (1951 Guide, p. 53)

Friends of the Soviet Union (Executive Order 10450)

Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (1957 Guide, p. 44)

Industrial Workers of the World (Executive Order 10450)

International Labor Defense (Executive Order 10450)

International Union of Students (1957 Guide, p. 48)

International Workers Order (Executive Order 10450)

Labor Sports Union of America (1951 Guide, p. 70)

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Labor Youth League (Executive Order 10450)

League of American Writers (Executive Order 10450)

National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case (1957 Guide, p. 60)

National Committee to Win the Peace (Executive Order 10450)

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (Executive Order 10450)

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (1957 Guide, p. 61)

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Executive Order 10450)

National Negro Congress (Executive Order 10450)

National Student League (1957 Guide, p. 66)

National Unemployment Councils (1951 Guide, p. 87)

Peace Information Center (Executive Order 10450)

People's Rights Party (Executive Order 10450)

Progressive Citizens of America (1951 Guide, p. 97)

Progressive Party (1957 Guide, p. 74)

Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace (1957 Guide, p. 79)

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Executive Order 10450)

Women's International Democratic Federation (1957 Guide, p. 91)

Workers Alliance (Executive Order 10450)

World Congress Against War (1951 Guide, p. 122)

World Federation of Democratic Youth (1957 Guide, p. 94)

World Federation of Trade Unions (1957 Guide, p. 95)

World Peace Appeal (1957 Guide, p. 95)

Young Communist League (Executive Order 10450)

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